291 more fully described in Chapter XXIV. It will be sufficient to say here that when showing reverence, a Toda bares his right arm, this method of wearing the cloak so that the arm is exposed being called *kevenarut*. It is shown in Figs. 1 and 10.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE TODAS

234 463 512 The daily life of the Toda men is largely devoted to the care of their buffaloes and to the performance of the dairy operations. As we shall see later, much of the dairy work is the duty of certain men set aside to look after the sacred buffaloes and the sacred dairies connected with them. A large proportion, however, of the Toda buffaloes are not sacred, and their care falls on the ordinary Todas. The milking and churning is chiefly the duty of the younger men and boys, but the older men also take their part, while the head of the family exercises a general superintendence.

512 788 On rising in the morning, the men salute the sun with the gesture called *kaimukhti*, shown in Fig. 10, and then they turn to their work of milking the buffaloes and churning the milk.

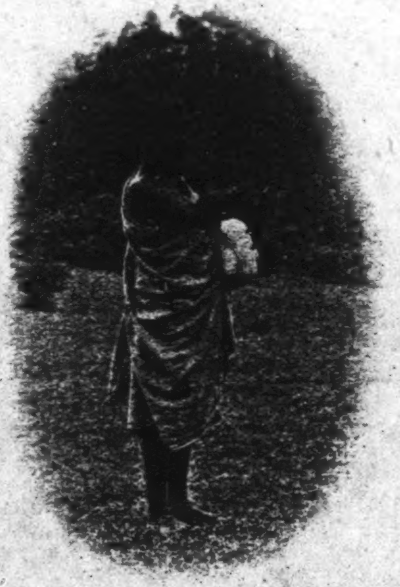

FIG. 10.—KÔDRNER PERFORMING THE SALUTATION CALLED 'KAIMUKHTI.' HIS RIGHT ARM IS BARED ('KEVENARUT'), AND HE HAS REMOVED HIS TURBAN.

512 When the dairy operations of the morning are over, the buffaloes are driven to the grazing ground, the people take their food and go about any business of the day. Some may

574 576 called *kalmelpudithti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

234 512 788 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

SKETCH OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

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[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddiken*.

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
463 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
618 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly
limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh*
621 is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must
be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other
division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may
receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year
and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for
the use of his family. I have no definite information whether
anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan
or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a
man was working for another and was his servant, and always
found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy
of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly,
there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated
with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and
when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
292 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
513 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
554 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
558 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time
784 in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch
the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches
any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and
becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on
the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when
788 getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes
out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night
and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

23[illegible] [illegible]mp in the morning unless it is dark, nor does he pray. The 57[illegible] [illegible]ilk poured into the *patat* overnight will have coagulated, so that it forms a solid mass called *adrpars*. The dairyman puts 788 the churning-stick into the *patat* and churns for a little time till he has broken up the *adrpars*.[1] Then he pours off most of the semi-fluid milk into another vessel (also a *patat*), leaving about one *kudi*[2] in the churning-vessel. He adds to this some butter from a previous churning, which he takes from the *parskadrvenmu*, adds also some water, and churns the mixture till butter is formed. He pours out the buttermilk into the *majpariv*, keeping the butter in the *patat*, adds more coagulated milk and water, and churns again, transferring the buttermilk to its vessel when butter is formed. He continues in this way till all the milk has been churned, and he then transfers the butter which has been formed to the vessel called *penpariv*, also putting a small portion in the *parskadrvenmu*.

The *palikartmokh* then goes out to milk, with the *irkarthpun* and the wand called *parskurs* or *ularwurthkurs*. He puts into the milking-vessel some buttermilk, the buttermilk used for this purpose being called *pep*, and he also smears some butter on the edge of the vessel to put on the teats of the buffaloes. When he goes out, he salutes by raising the *irkarthpun* and *parskurs* to his forehead in the same manner as is shown in Fig. 27. When he has filled the milking-vessel, he goes into the dairy and empties the milk into the *patat* and returns to the buffaloes. This is repeated till all the buffaloes have been milked, after which the dairyman takes food and buttermilk, but with no prescribed ritual as in the case of more sacred dairies. He also gives out buttermilk to the people of the village. After the work of the morning is over, the *palikartmokh* may go out to look after the buffaloes, or may collect firewood, leaves, or other things [461] necessary for his work. During the later hours of the morning the *palikartmokh* may often be seen lying down taking a rest before he begins the work of the afternoon, which is more ceremonial than that of the morning.

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[1] This is literally 'cooked milk.' It probably receives this name because the coagulation is often hastened by heating.

[2] About four pints.

234 About three o'clock in the afternoon he goes to the dairy,
512 bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead
788 (*pavnersatiti*, Fig. 20), enters and touches a vessel on the *patat* side, and then a vessel on the *ertat* side. He then lights the fire and inspects the milk drawn in the morning. If it has not become solid, he puts it on the fire for a few minutes to hasten the coagulation. He lights the lamp and prays, using the prayer of the dairy (see Chap. X), and then churns as in the morning. When he has finished churning, he clears the churning-stick of the butter clinging to it, and after holding it to his forehead and uttering the sacred word "*On*," he puts it in the stand called *agar*. He then goes out to milk as in the morning, taking buttermilk in the milking-vessel. When the milking is over, he shuts up the buffaloes in the pen for the night, and as he does so, he repeats the prayer of the dairy, the prayer being exactly the same as that used when lighting the lamp. He then takes food and

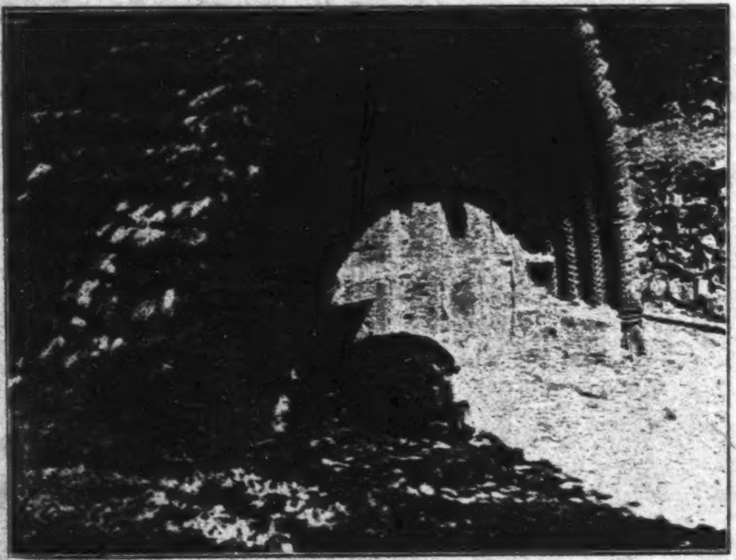


FIG. 20.—THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' SALUTING THE THRESHOLD OF THE DAIRY AT KIUDR 'PAVNERSATITI.'

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of
788 another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nodrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

788 Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
778 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
● 788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*On*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

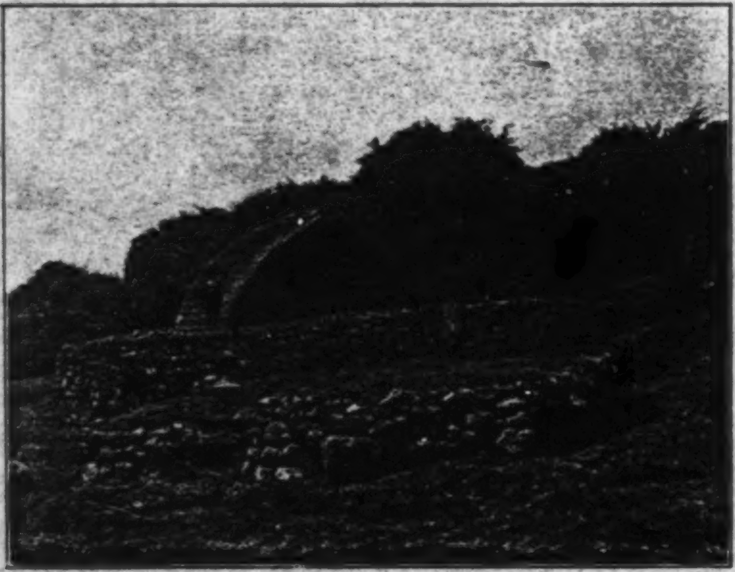


FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS.' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
513 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,
784

as if these three objects are removed because they are used 562
by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed 784
to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, al- 793
though, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters.

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursol* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

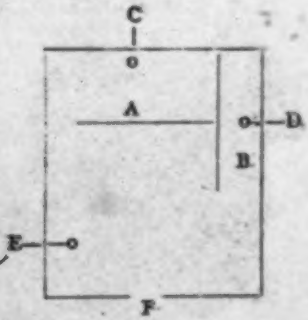
Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the 234
poh at Nȯdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiȯdr and Ȯdr. It 343
is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most 778
ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why 788 ●
the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms.

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the 343
ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 352

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343
352 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made by Kòdrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Patatmar*.
B. *Ertatmar*.
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *pelk* or lamp.
E. *Washal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

357 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

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788 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234
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415 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

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[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *wursol*
and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes.
● 788 Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *wursol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

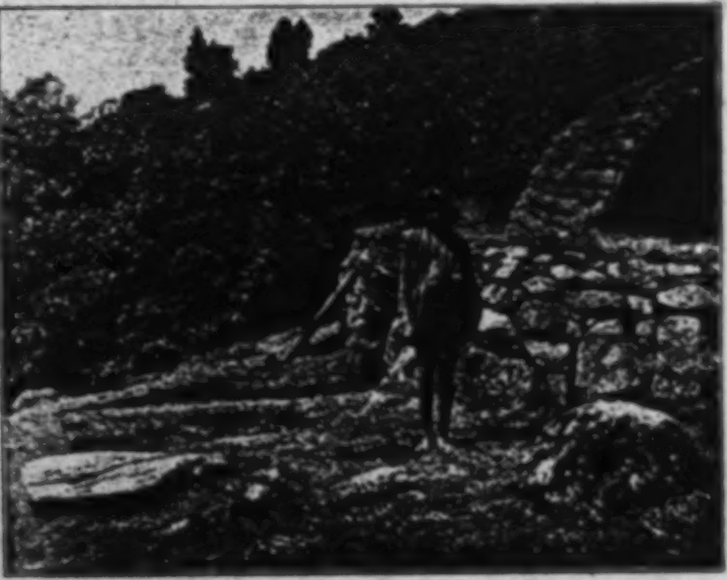

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPISH (58), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

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[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *wursol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahman engaged in prayer.

234 512 788 In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*, touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursuli* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

THE KUGVALI OF TARADR

234 618 621 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village and the institution to be described in the next chapter—the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*polm*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmokh*. This dairyman must be a

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd[1]
173 were sent from Amnôdr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was
pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse
793 with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk
(*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottüu*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

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[1] The world of the dead.

1/A [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

leaves of the kind called *kakuders.* He drinks three times 234
only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oñ*" each 415
time. 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *penpariv* by means of the same vessel.

THE DAIRY OF KANÒDRS

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph. 343

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed 234
tuartir from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present 463
time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those 554
called *nashperthir*.

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used. 778

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* 264
must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds 554
the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must 784
throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his
lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe 793
than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX).

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk 192
receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of 234
the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies.

THE TEIVALI DAIRY

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairy- 184
men so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali 234
villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh*
of the same rank. 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear
to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar [292]
tarvali. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*.

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudeipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan. 234

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a 621
dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkaftthwaskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

THE DAILY LIFE AT THE TI

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● 788
793
The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say "*ekirzam meidjam*."[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *tòratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *pòdrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

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[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the Pan *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

234 prayer, but after I had settled on the foregoing description as
512 correct I was allowed one day by the *kaltmokh* to go near
788 the dairy while the *palol* was praying, and was able to hear
the beating on the earthenware vessel with each word of the
793 prayer.

The next step is to take up the *pohvet* and place it against the wall, and then the *palol* begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle *persin*, milk in this state being here called *kudabpol* instead of *adrpars*, as in the ordinary dairy.

In those cases in which the *mani* is 'fed,' the *palol* puts *kudabpol* on the bell shortly after beginning to churn. This is done three times, the syllable *Oñ* being uttered each time. When the *palol* does anything three times in this way, he says that he does it *mushtiu*. This expression for 'thrice' is not used in the ordinary dairy.

The next steps are to pour into the *kwoi* and *karitòrzum* most of the coagulated milk which has been broken up by the churning, to add to the milk remaining in the *persin* some *persinpeụ*, or butter especially kept for the purpose in the *peptòrzum*, to add water, and to churn the mixture of coagulated milk, water, and butter in the middle *persin*. When the new butter is formed, the *palol* pours out the buttermilk into the vessel called *idrkwoi*, keeping back the butter with his hand. The buttermilk is transferred from the *idrkwoi* to one of the *alug* in the outer room. Some of the milk which had been put into the *kwoi* or *karitòrzum* is then poured back into the middle *persin*, more water is added, and the mixture is churned, after which the buttermilk is again transferred by means of the *idrkwoi* to the *alug*, while the butter is kept in the *persin*. This procedure is repeated till all the milk of the middle *persin* has been churned.

The *persin* on the right-hand side of the *palol* is then taken, and its position exchanged with that of the vessel hitherto used, and the churning is continued in exactly the same manner. The buttermilk is transferred to the *alug*, but the butter when formed is transferred to the *persin*, which had been originally in the middle. When the contents of the second *persin* have been churned, the third *persin* is placed in the middle and the same procedure is followed, so that when

234 512 788 793 the churning is over all the butter which has been formed will be in the *persin* which was originally in the middle. Some of this butter is put into the *peptòrzum* to act as *persinpen* on another occasion, and the remainder is transferred to the butter *alug* by means of the *idrkwoi*. The two *tòrzum* are then put on the tops of two of the *persin* as covers, the *peptòrzum* being placed on the middle *persin* and the *palol* takes the milking-vessel (*kwoi*) and wand (*kwoinörtpet*) in his right hand and goes out to milk, having first put some buttermilk, called *pep*, into the *kwoi*.

When the *palol* leaves the dairy, he raises the milking-vessel and wand to his forehead and salutes in the way shown in Fig. 27. The Todas say that he is saluting the sun and the buffaloes. It is probable that, in general, the *palol* faces approximately east as he salutes, but there is no doubt that, at the present time, his salutation is chiefly to the buffaloes. He salutes in the same direction both morning and evening, and certainly pays no attention to the direction in which the sun lies.

This salutation is now often done in a very perfunctory manner. The vessel and wand may be raised hastily to the forehead for a few seconds only as the *palol* goes towards his buffaloes, and I am doubtful whether the salutation is ever performed exactly as shown in the figure, for the vessel contains some of the buttermilk called *pep*, which might be spilt if the vessel were held quite horizontally.

When the *palol* salutes, he says "*Oñ*" three times, and repeats two or three clauses of the dairy prayer, usually the *kwarzam* of the more important gods of the dairy.

When going to milk and when going from one buffalo to another, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* are always held together in the right hand. When the *kwoi* is filled, it is taken into the dairy. If it is the custom of the dairy to put milk on the *mani*, this is now done three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and then the milk is poured into the middle *persin*, the *kwoi* being held in the left hand, and the *palol* goes out again to refill the *kwoi*. When all the *persinir* have been milked, the milk of the three *persin* is mixed together by pouring from one to the other. The reason for this is that the buttermilk, called *pep*,

234 is only taken out in the *kwoi* on first going to milk, and
512 in consequence the *pep* would affect the milk of the middle
788 *persin* only if its contents were not mixed with those of the vessels filled later.

793 The *palol* next goes out to milk the *punir*, taking for this purpose the vessel called *karpun* and an ordinary wand, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* being only used for the more sacred buffaloes. There was some difference of opinion as to what should be done with the milk of the *punir*. According to

FIG. 27.—THE 'PALOL,' KARKIEVAN, SALUTING AT MÒDR. HE IS STANDING IN THE 'PEPKARMUS.' THE BUILDING NEXT TO THE 'PALOL' IS THE 'TI POH'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'KARENPOH,' AND BETWEEN IT AND THE 'TI POH' CAN BE SEEN THE HUT WHERE THE INHABITANTS OF THE 'TI MAD' SLEEP.

234 some it may be used to fill the *persin* if these are not filled
512 by the milk of the *persinir*; according to others it is wrong
to do this, and the milk of *punir* should on no account be put
788 in the more sacred vessels of the inner room. I think there
793 is no doubt that at the Nòdrs *ti* at any rate the first procedure is followed. At this *ti* the *punir* outnumber the *persinir* by far, and it is probable that the milk of the former is used to supplement that of the more sacred buffaloes, although it is contrary to tradition that this should be done.

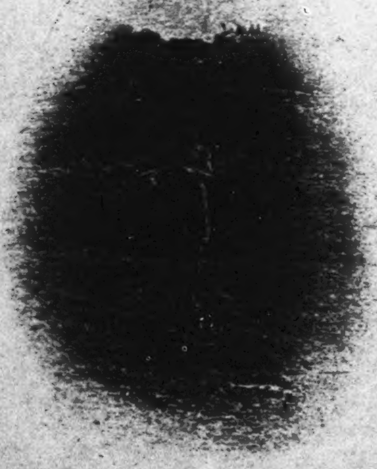

FIG. 28.—TO SHOW THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE 'PALOL' WHEN PRAYING.

The three *persin* being filled, the *tòrzum* are again put on as covers, and the *palol* takes up the wand called *pokvet*, and prays, standing in front of the screen (*patun*) with his hands lying over one another crosswise on the top of the stick as shown in Fig. 28. He recites the full prayer of the *ti*, then replaces the *pokvet* between the *persin* and the *patun* and this act of replacing the wand marks the end of the more sacred part of the dairy operations. If a Toda wishes to ascertain if the work of the dairy is over, he asks, "Has he taken the *pokvet*?"

The *palol* now unties his hair, sees to anything necessary in connexion with his food, fills the *uppun* with buttermilk, and then leaves his dairy and goes to sit on the seat called *pokvelkars* on one side of the door of the dairy, viz., on the opposite side to that on which the *mani* is placed. At Mòdr he sits on the stone on the right side of the door when going

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in (K in Fig. 26), and the fact that he does so is one of the reasons which make it probable that the arrangement of the *pok* of that place is as I have given it in the plan.

When the *palol* has seated himself on the *pokvelkars*, he calls out to the *kaltmokh* "*Kaizhvatitva*," "Come here and pour buttermilk!" When the *kaltmokh* comes, the *palol* gives the *uppun* to the boy, who says three times "*Kaizhvatkina*," "Shall I pour buttermilk?" and the *palol* replies each time, "*Vat*!" The *kaltmokh* pours from the *uppun* into a cup made of the leaf called *kakuders* held by the *palol*, who drinks after raising to his forehead. This is repeated till the *palol* is satisfied, when the leaf-cup from which he has been drinking is thrown away,[1] and he goes again into the outer room to get food. He gives food to the *kaltmokh*, who eats it in the sleeping-hut, while the *palol* himself eats sitting on the *pokvelkars*. If any *mòrol* (see p. 107) are present, they are fed at this stage with buttermilk and food by the *kaltmokh*, who gives them the buttermilk out of the *mòrpun*, pouring it into leaf-cups as when giving to the *palol*.

The rest of the morning is passed in looking after the buffaloes, cutting firewood, plucking leaves used as cups and plates, or doing any other work connected with the *ti*.

In the afternoon the *palol* returns to his dairy and goes through the same operations as in the morning, except that he fetches water from the *kwoinir* early in the proceedings, usually bringing enough for the work of that afternoon and of the next morning. He churns the milk drawn in the morning, and when the time for milking has arrived, the buffaloes will have returned to the milking-place, and as soon as they arrive their calves are let out from the house (*karenpok*) in which they have been kept.

When the churning and milking are over, the buffaloes are shut up in the *tu* for the night. The *palol* then takes buttermilk as in the morning, and both he and the *kaltmokh* take their food. The latter eats his food in the sleeping-hut as in

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[1] In the story of Kwoto and the Keradr *ti* (Chap. IX) the *kaltmokh* has to pour away buttermilk at an appointed spot. It is probable that this buttermilk is that unfinished by the *palol*, and possibly this custom is still followed but was not mentioned by my informants.

234 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oh*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and
793 then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times ; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in
office even after this period, though there is no case known in
which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he
may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside
world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people
who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the
Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford ; and it appears that
he may only use certain fords ; thus it is easy to cross the
Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

793 *kûtmeil teu idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches,
576 the *palol* says "*Pekein,*" but all the Teivaliol reply with the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil*, *i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was
576 said that he might not approach the *palol*. I had an interest-
783 ing example, however, of the way in which a regulation of
788 this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil*, owing
793 to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol*. He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol*.

437 There are several regulations concerning the food of the
439 *palol*. Any grain he eats must be that provided by the
784 Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was
793 formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir*. He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pohvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *mani*. He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh*. If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, 184
after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that 554
occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally 234
continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age.
He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. 793
He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain 463
definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies.

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings 292
he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm 784
outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the 788
pül of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When
he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path 793
used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*.

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower 234
called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full 554
kaltmokh. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on 558
the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal
cloth. 784

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do 793
certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

At certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

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There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

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[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

234x Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
778 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
783 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
795 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a
month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there
621 is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian
motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

MIGRATIONS OF THE VILLAGE BUFFALOES

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234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
221 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I
796 cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and
for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible
evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Òdrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features
of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the
head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the
first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have
taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234K At some time during the day following the arrival at the
new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nòdrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—
a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—*i.e.*, "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that *erdpunrs* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

thighs and, holding it there, depresses it so that he can pour 234x
buttermilk into his leaf-cup; from this he pours into the leaf- 793
cup of the candidate who then drinks, and this is repeated till the latter is satisfied. The *palikartmokh* brings food and fire from the dairy and both stay in the wood for the night, being allowed to have companions. The place where they sleep is called *tavarpali*.

In the morning the candidate again goes for *tudr* bark and leaves, and carries out the whole ceremony seven times as on the previous evening. He then goes to the *tavarpali* and waits there till the *palikartmokh* has finished his morning work, when the candidate again receives buttermilk and food. Then both go out together to look after the buffaloes.

When they return in the afternoon the candidate goes to the dairy stream and bathes from head to foot. This bathing is called *tudraspipini* (*tudr* I have washed), its object being to wash off the *tudr* bark previously used. After this he takes a piece of the cloth called *twadrinar* and, using it as a girdle in addition to that he already wears, he goes to the wall of the dairy while the *palikartmokh* digs up a vessel called *mu* which is buried in the buffalo pen. (At Kars the *mu* which is used is that of the *tarvali*.) The *palikartmokh* then puts the *mu* on the ground and stands by it. The candidate asks three times, "*Muvatkina?*" "Shall I touch the *mu?*" and the *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Muvat!*" The candidate then touches the *mu*, and by doing so becomes a full *wursol*. The *mu* is reburied by the *palikartmokh*.

All the ceremonies so far have taken place at or near the 234x
ordinary dairy, either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, or at the stream 788
belonging to one or other of these dairies. The candidate 793
now for the first time goes to the dairy in which he is to be *wursol* (the *wursuli*) and prostrates himself at the threshold. He next enters and prostrates himself to the *patatmar* and then to the *ertatmar*. He takes up and puts in its place one of the vessels of the *ertatmar* and then one of the vessels of the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), lights the fire and the lamp and prays, using the prayer of the village. He then cleans the vessels and goes to milk, doing *mani tersantirikiti* with the first milk as usual.

234x 793 and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *popkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234x 184 783 778 ●788 793 The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli*; the dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *poh* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark, while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *mu*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tastk*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmokh* also touches a *mu* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination 234K
at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that 184
this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had
been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy. 783

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies 778
is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through 788
the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both
wursol and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, 793
which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmokh*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

CHAPTER IX

THE TODA GODS

● 788 The ceremonies which have been described in the last five chapters make up a large part of the ritual of the Toda religion, but there is one important feature of this ritual which has so far been left on one side, or only cursorily mentioned, because its full consideration only becomes possible after an account has been given of the Toda gods.

In describing the ritual of the dairy and the various ceremonies connected with the buffaloes, it has been mentioned that at certain times the prayer of the dairy or the prayer of the village is used. In these prayers there are references to various incidents in the lives of the gods, and many of the clauses would be unintelligible without a knowledge of these lives. It therefore becomes necessary to consider this branch of Toda mythology before dealing with the prayers in detail.

776 The typical Toda god is a being who is distinctly anthropomorphic and is called a *teu*. In the legends he lives much the same kind of life as the mortal Toda, having his dairies and his buffaloes. The sacred dairies and the sacred buffaloes of the Todas are still regarded as being in some measure the property of the gods, and the dairymen are looked upon as their priests. The gods hold councils and consult with one another just as do the Todas, and they are believed to be swayed by the same motives and to think in the same way as the Todas themselves.

040 At the present time most of the gods are believed to

173 773 776 replied, "*Pülmdv tars pògh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Aroth pun pîrs Pâlmän kuerk putvai, nadrtivadr*"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wursol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakkudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wursol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk [762] also strangled themselves with *kakkudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pòni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seindr son, Kwoten âr son, Seindr son, Terkosh âr son.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *âr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Taradr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that [735] place were sent to him. Very little is related about the third brother, Elnâkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

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[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

CHAPTER X

PRAYER

IN the chapters in which the ritual of the dairies has been 234×
described, one of the most important features of the cere- 373
monial has been passed over which must now be fully de- 771
scribed. This feature is the prayer which is always offered at 782
certain stages of the dairy operations. In the village dairies, of
whatever kind they may be, no prayer is offered at the morning 788●
ceremonial. In the evening the prayer of the dairy is recited twice—once when lighting the lamp, and once when shutting the buffaloes in their enclosure for the night, the prayer on this occasion being said in front of the entrance to the pen.

At the *ti* dairy the *palol* prays both morning and evening. In the morning he prays when lighting the lamp and after he has finished milking; in the evening prayer is offered on both these occasions, and also when shutting up the buffaloes for the night. The *palol* also repeats a few clauses when going out to milk. Prayers are said on certain other ceremonial occasions, and clauses from the prayers are frequently uttered during the many ceremonies of the dairy.

At the evening ceremonial of the village dairy the prayer is said when the lamp is lighted, while during the morning ceremonial, at which the lamp is usually not lighted, there is no prayer. This suggests that the prayer is especially related to the lamp-lighting, and that some idea of worship of the light is involved, but occasionally for some special reason, such as unusual darkness, the lamp may be lighted in the morning, and on these occasions the prayer is not used. Nevertheless, the relation between lamp-lighting and prayer

234x both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance,
373 and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation
771 of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and
its sources which may at one time have formed a more
782 marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to
●788 be the case.

The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is
234x common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the
782 dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently
killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the
788 pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195] In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could
184 ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village;
thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used
788 in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point
782 on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance
621 to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

refused to discuss it. One point seemed quite clear, at any 234x
rate among the Teivaliol, viz., that the different villages of a 184
clan had different prayers, though often with many clauses in
common. 621

In general, the prayer of the *ti* is longer and more elaborate 782
than that of the village dairy. Different prayers are used at 788
different dairies of the same *ti*, though here again they may
have many clauses in common.

In all cases the prayer consists of two distinct parts: a preliminary portion consisting chiefly of names known as *kwarzam*, followed by a portion which may be regarded as the prayer proper.

The prayer proper should be the same in every dairy, but it seemed to me that there was a good deal of laxity as regards this portion, and there is no doubt that it is often slurred over hastily and is less strictly regulated than the preliminary portion of the prayer.

The following is the most generally accepted form: 788

Tânenmâ;	may it be well or may be blessed;
târmânmâ;	may it be well or may be merciful;
ïr-kark tânenmâ;	with the buffaloes and calves may it be well;
nâv ârk mâ;	may there be no disease;
kazun ârk mâ;	may there be no destroyer;
nudri ârk mâ;	may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects);
kâzel ârk mâ;	may there be no wild beasts (tigers, &c.);
per kârt pâ mâ:	may be kept from (falling down) steep hills;
pusht kârt pâ mâ;	may be kept from floods;
tüt ârk mâ;	may there be no fire;
mâ un mâ;	may rain fall;
mâj en mâ;	may clouds rise;
pul pâv mâ;	may grass flourish;
nîr ûr mâ.	may water spring.

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence, followed by the words:

âlkam	*îdith*	*emk*	*tânenmâ.*
them	for the sake of	for (or to) us	may it be well.

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the 782
clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of the 788

782 given above were omitted, while others were added, especially
788 requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *pîrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

234x It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

192 "May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer
782 from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals
788 and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

234x The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several
184 groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes, of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels
782 and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the
788 *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence
621 given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place

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192 [1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate. 234^x 184

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated. 782 788 ● 621 192

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer. 234^x 192 788

Prayer of Kuudr

Atthkôdr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
ôners	Kuudr village.
palitüdrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*tüdrpali*).
palikidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*kidpali*).
tüdrpalikpelk	lamp (*pelk*) of large dairy.
kidpalikpoh	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 *tütüdrtho*	large buffalo-pen (*tü*) at Kuudr.
tükidtü	small buffalo-pen (*tü*) at Kuudr.
192 *kadrtorikkadr*	calf enclosure (*kadr*) at Kuudr.
keishkwet	sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of Kuudr.
788 *tarskivan*	ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*).
käupep	portion of buttermilk (*pep*) originally given by Teikirzi for *pasthir*.
âtthpep	portion of *pep* for *putiir*.
mutchudkars	stone in buffalo-pen at Kuudr where the vessels of the large dairy are purified.
tarskikars	stone in pen where the vessels of the small dairy are purified.
nirkiznir	sacred dairy spring of Kuudr.
Eikisiov	a buffalo whose milk was the origin of the spring.
Pülmâlpül	a hill near Kuudr.
Emalpüv	a buffalo which once lived at Kuudr.
Kekathâmâk	a hill near Kuudr.
Karstum	a buffalo which once died on this hill.
teikhkwadiki	a tree by which the dairy vessel called *mu* is buried (see p. 170).
manikiars	the *kiars* tree by which the sacred bell (*mani*) is laid when the dairy things are being purified.
Keikars	a hill near Kuudr.
keitnòdi	hill near which the *erkumpthiti* ceremony is performed (see Chap. XIII).
petüt pati pethüt ir	chief buffaloes given when Teikirzi divided the buffaloes with wand in hand (see p. 186). Literally, "wand with divide chief buffaloes."
pûthion nâkh tarzdr maj	calf which was the ancestor of the Kuudr *putiir*.

Thus, the prayer would run, "*Atthkâr idith ; òners idith ; palitüdrpali idith ;* . . . . . and the translation would run, "For the sake of the village and clan of Kuudr ; for the sake of the village of Kuudr ; for the sake of the large dairy of Kuudr ; . . . ." as far as the end of the *kwarzam* given above, and then would follow the prayer proper, "*tanenma, tarmama,* . . . ."

This prayer begins with two *kwarzam* of the village or clan, followed by others referring to the dairies and dairy vessels, buffalo pens and buffaloes. Then follow certain *kwarzam* of the *pep* or buttermilk which is of so much importance in the dairy ritual, and those of stones which play a part in the ceremonies attending purification of the dairy vessels. After the *kwarzam* of the dairy spring, there follow a number of *kwarzam* referring to certain incidents in the history of the dairy.

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history of the dairy. *Eikisiov* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuudr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground became swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring and is called *kisnlr*. The two following *kwarzam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. *Karstum* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathûmûk when it began to bellow and could not be induced to stop; the people tried to take it back to the pen, but it would not go and died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarzam* are followed by two referring to trees of ceremonial importance—one the tree by which is buried the *mu* on the integrity of which the continuity of the dairy procedure depends, while the other is connected with the sacred bell.

Then follow the *kwarzam* of a hill on which there are cairns and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarzam* of a different kind. The first refers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi, who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing we have seen that she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the form, "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes with the wand." The last *kwarzam* is that of the calf, from which the ordinary buffaloes or *putilr* of Kuudr are descended, but I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the words, except *nakh*, which is the name of a three-year-old buffalo.

In the Kuudr prayer several of the *kwarzam* refer to incidents of a more or less miraculous nature which are believed to have happened at the village where the prayer is used, while the last *kwarzam* but one refers to one of the chief events of Toda mythology.

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It will be noticed that many of the *kwarzam* used in this prayer correspond very closely to the names in ordinary use. Some, such as *keitnâdi* and *teikhkwadiki*, are the same words as those in general use, while others differ from

234x the ordinary words in the reduplication of part of the
192 name, *tûdrpali* becoming *palitûdrpali* and *kiznîr* becoming
788 *nîrkiznîr*.

PRAYER OF KIUDR

234x The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used at
192 Kiudr, which is one of the most sacred of Toda villages.

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	Kwarzam of
Kilvòdh	the dairy at Kiudr.
kerâni	one of the *palatmani* of Kiudr.
mêdrâni	the other *palatmani*.
pongg	one of the *ertatmani*.
nongg	another *ertatmani*.
pelteirzi	the lamp of the dairy.
îrtîrzi	also the lamp.
kïnmûtv	the way by which the dairyman goes from the dairy to milk; the *punetkalvol*.
nirtâkh	the dairy stream.
nirtîrshki	also the dairy stream.
keitu	the buffalo-pen.
tülivaners	the posts at the entrance of the buffalo-pen
tashtpâlitv	the bars of the entrance of the pen.
kadrtûlikhadr	the calf enclosure.
arkatchar	the household stream.
inerti	also the household stream.
ârsvûlchkârs	the house (*ars*) at Kiudr.
eiviitchâtv	also the house.
nersâdrvol	the milking place.
keikûdr	the stream which runs between the house and the dairy (see 307).
kwoteiners	all of Kiudr village.
kwalthkipushol	
atamûdri	
eraikin	
kirmut	
pûrvakûdr	
arspem	slope of hill (*pem*) near Kiudr.

The special features of the Kiudr prayer are the large number of *kwarzam* of the village and the inclusion of the *kwarzam* of the house and household stream. The prayer of Kiudr is the only Toda prayer in which either the house or household stream is mentioned, and this fact is in accordance with the high degree of sanctity which has become attached to this village. It will be noticed also that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the buffaloes are not mentioned, and that nearly all the clauses of the prayer apply to the buildings and their contents or to other parts of the village or to the village itself. Only the last *kwarzam* of the prayer applies to a place not actually in the village itself, and I could not ascertain why this place was so favoured. With this exception, the Kiudr prayer is one in which the *kwarzam* are entirely limited to those of the village and the dairy.

It will be remembered that when the buffaloes of the Nódrs *ti* migrate from Môdr to Anto they pass by the village of Kiudr, and that the occasion is observed in various ways by the people of the village (see p. 135). I was told that certain *kwarzam* referring to this occasion are used in the Kiudr prayer. According to one man, these *kwarzam* are always recited in the prayer before those which have been already given, but others denied that they were so used. It is possible that these *kwarzam* are only said on special occasions, such as the day of migration, or it may be that they were formerly used, but are now being forgotten.

These *kwarzam* are as follow:

mer pûlgit nâdr	*ti* buffaloes, come near country.
mankon pûlgit nâdr	bell of *wars* dairy, come near country.
eupalol pûlgit nâdr	god *palol*, come near country.
eutuni pûlgit nâdr	god *tuni*, come near country.
kütât pûlgit nâdr	hair done up, come near country (this has reference to the practice of tying the hair which is followed by the *palol* when engaged at his sacred work (p. 92).
Teigon ûrpit nâdr	horn (of *mursir*) blow country.
Kîudkudr ûrpit nâdr	horn (of *tiir*) blow country.

Then follow the *kwarzam* already given.

These *kwarzam* are of a different form from those used in the general form of prayer, and the various persons or objects mentioned are referred to either by their usual names or by slight modifications of them, as in *eupalol* or *euvalol* and *eutuni*. There seemed to be no doubt that these words were abbreviations of *teupalol* and *teutuni*, the omission of an initial *t* being not uncommon in the Toda language. Thus in this prayer the dairyman is called "god *palol*," and his garment "god *tuni*."

PRAYER OF KWIRG

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Kwirg is one of the villages of the Kuudrol and is the place to which their buffaloes go when it is necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

Kwatakwirg	Kwirg village.
kûlpudshol	Kwirg village.
palikeithiolv	the dairy.
tûmadshû	the pen.
kadrkeiri	the *kadr* (calf enclosure).
nîrtiûdsh	the dairy stream.
pinpunûv	a hill.
pilkârs	a hill.
âtthpep	see Kuudr prayer.
kânpep	
mutchudpep	
keishkvet	
tarskivan	
petüt pati pethût ir	
pûthion nâkh tarzâr maj	

It will be seen that many of the clauses are common to this prayer and that of Kuudr.

The three *kwarzam* of *pep* were said to be used in every dairy of the Kuudrol, but it did not appear that they were used at Kiudr. The third, *mutchudpep*, is ~~not~~ included in the Kuudr prayer, but *mutchudkars* appears in its place. Two hills are mentioned in the Kwirg prayer, but there are none of the references to special events connected with the village such as exist in the prayer of Kuudr.

THE PRAYER OF THE KANÒDRS DAIRY

When I was staying at Pishkwosht and visited the conical dairy at Kanòdrs with Neratkutan, he told me that the prayer of this dairy had forty *kwarzam* referring to the gods, as well as many of other kinds, but on going into detail I could only obtain the following :—

Pâr nâr teu	the 1600 gods.
pût nâr teu	the 1800 gods.
K'woto	Kwoto or Meilitars (see p. 203).

Atioto	Atioto (see p. 210).	234^{x}
Kurindei teu	Kurindo (see p. 192).	192
Konteu	Konteu or Konto (see p. 211).	788 ●
Anteu	Anto (see p. 188).	
Pòrzo	Pòrzo	see p. 211.
Kòdrtho	Kòdrtho	
Kârzo	Karzo	
Teikhunteu	Teikhun	
mänpòh	Kanòdrs village.	
mutîrshpòh	ditto.	
tûnertâ	the pen.	
kânêr	the sun ? (see p. 206).	
kuteikurs	the stone chain used by Kwoto (see p. 207).	
aners	Kuzhu village.	
tâtashki	Pishkwosht village.	

This prayer is quite unlike those of the other village dairies and was much more like that of a *ti* dairy. As we have seen, the *poh* of Kanòdrs resembles a *ti* dairy both in the elaborateness of its ritual and in the high degree of sanctity of its dairyman, and this resemblance is now seen to extend to the prayer used in the dairy ritual. [778]

Other dairies of the Tartharol which have an especial degree of sanctity are the *kugvali* of Taradr and the conical dairy of Nòdrs. I made great endeavours to obtain the prayers used in these places, but without success.

THE TI PRAYER

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The prayers offered at the *ti* dairies are as a general rule longer and more complex than those of the ordinary village dairy. The latter portion of the prayer, or the prayer proper, does not seem to differ from that of the ordinary dairy, the differences being in the *kwarzam* recited at the beginning. The different dairies of the same *ti* may have different prayers; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti* there is a special prayer for the dairy at Anto which is longer and more complicated than that used at Mòdr, but it is probable that this is exceptional and is owing to the great antiquity and sanctity of Anto. The other dairies of this *ti* probably use much the same prayer as at Mòdr, though there may be certain slight modifications at each.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE ANTO PRAYER

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This prayer is characterised by a very large number of *kwarzam* referring to the dairy, its contents and surroundings. On ordinary days a shortened form of the prayer is used which consists wholly of *kwarzam* of this kind. On special days, such as the occasions of *ponup* and *irnödrthiti*, other *kwarzam* are said, including those of gods and buffaloes.

The following *kwarzam* are those in daily use, each being followed by the word *idith* as in the village prayer :—

	Kwarzam of
Anto	the *ti*.
eithipöh	ditto.
mödrpöh	the *ti poh*.
pöhtirzh	the *wars poh*.
tiv	the milking place (*pepkarmus*).
pero	the special pen used on the night before the *ponup* ceremony.
keirv	the pen used on the night before the migration of the buffaloes.
kütü	the ordinary pen.
Teirz	a hill near the dairy on which Anto lives.
tülkav	the back of the dairy (*pohpalikef*).
irbür	the way by which the *kaltmokh* goes to and from the dairy.
Pithipöh	the cave where Pithi was born (see p. 184).
nersâvul	sacred path to the dairy by which the *mani*, *pep*, &c., are taken.
karkadr	path by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadipül	ditto.
einpül	path by which the *palol* goes to draw water.
panpül	path by which the *palol* returns from drawing water.
Kûûln	a hill near the dairy.
Keini	another hill.
tüthln	stream at which the *palol* bathes and washes his garments.
tütör	stone by this stream marking the spot by which the *palol* bathes, &c.
teirpül	spot at which the *palol* halts and prays for the third time during the procession to Anto (see p. 135).
teirpöh	ditto.
nirkûli	place at which *palol* and *kaltmokh* defecate.
Katthvai	hill near Anto (see p. 188).
Kubul	ditto.
Kôdrs	place near Anto (see p. 188).
Tmirs	ditto.
teibithikars	stone rolled by Anto.
teibithkival	lower part of the hill *Katthvai* (see above).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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On ordinary days these *kwarzam* are followed by the prayer *tanenma tarmama*, &c. On special occasions the following *kwarzam* are inserted between those already given and the prayer proper :—

	Kwarzam of
Ekirzam meidjam	Teikirzi, Tirshti.
Kûdreij	Kudreiil dairy.
tîdj	ditto.
Kûlâdrtho	Kuladrtho dairy.
Perithi ti vanors	*ti* dairy at Perithi in the Wainad.
Kôti	One of the hills at which fire is lighted by the *palol* at the *teutütusthchi* ceremony (see p. 291).
pagvâlh	ditto.
Pûthi	another hill at which fire is lighted.
ânul	ditto.
Kûlinkârs	Kulinkars (see p. 188).
Nòtirzivan	Nòtirzi (see p. 189).
Kuzhârv	Koratcu (see p. 190).
unir	one group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
unkeu	*mani* of *wars* dairy.
Porzin	*mani* of *ti* dairy.
kûdrs mani	bells of *punir*.
tadrth	axe which came from Amnòdr with the buffaloes.
tâpâr	an iron bar.
âter	the second group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
teiter	the third group of *tiir*.
Keirz	the buffalo which has the *mani* called Keu put on its neck.
pilti	buffaloes (*unir*).
perzv	ditto.
Keirv	buffalo which drinks *pep* on day of migration (see p. 135).
Kîthi	buffalo which wears the *kudrs mani*.
âudâvirs	the path at Mòdr by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadrpârs	place near Mòdr at which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* defecate.
tarikipâl	place near Mòdr where the *erkumpttthpimi* ceremony is performed.
kâlbadr	calves' hut (*karenpoh*) at Mòdr.
punpâh	*ti* dairy at Mòdr.
kâdpâh	*wars* dairy at Mòdr.
Ôdrtho	*ti* dairy at Ôdrtho.
Kûdreiil	*wars* dairy at Kudreiil.
anmâdrtem	a *ti* dairy.

The following is all I was able to obtain of the prayer used at Mòdr :—" *Ekirzam meidjam idith, Anto eithipôh idith, Kûlinkârs idith, Nòtirzivan idith, Kûlâdrvan idith, Teukuteithi idith, Kûdreij tîdj idith, Kuzhârv idith, Alvoi Kalvoi*

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idith, tanenma tarmama," &c. Two of these *kwarzam*, "*Teukuteithi idith*" and "*Alvoi Kalvoi idith,*" are not mentioned in the Anto prayer. I have no doubt that the list of *kwarzam* is very incomplete.

THE PRAYER OF MAKARS

The following is the prayer used at Makars, the chief dairy of the Kars *ti*. The *kwarzam* of the dairy are here comparatively few in number, but the prayer is especially rich in the *kwarzam* of gods and buffaloes, and it furnishes a very good example of the relation of the prayer formulæ to the Toda legends.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer run as follow :—

Anto	The god Anto.
Nòdrsivan	Nòtirzi.
Kûlinkârs	Kulinkars or Teikhars.
Kuskârv	Koraten.
Onkonm	Onkonm who lives on a hill in the Kundahs.
Ekirnam meidjam	Teikirzi and Tirshti.
Aso *Maso*	Aso and Maro.
Kaladrvampoh	place near Kûlinkars.
Poigum	god living on hill near Makurti Peak.
Karmuntei	Karmunteu.
Kotsgârth	the Paikara river (Teipakh).
Kondiliteu	Kondilteu, a god opposite the hill of Kòti.
Mândiliteu	a god on a hill near the last.
Onâhpoh	place near Majodr.
Kâlâdrvamuntew	god on a hill near Kuladrtho.
kabam adi artem teu	"iron door shut god."
kabam kûl aitem teu	"iron stick held god."
mârs mar artem teu	"*mârs* tree under event god."
kûgbâr kâdr kwatem teu	"crooked horned buffalo horn cut god."
takbâr at, tan mun madrik teu	"imitation buffalo horns took, his mother's brother's lap god."
sadvel kârtam teu	"sambhar from calved god." (The last six *kwarzam* refer to the story of Kuskarv (see p. 190).
pâlvarkârs	buffaloes of *ti* called *pârsîr*.
tatwikkan	ditto.
pirsh munaki potith ir	"sun to facing that came buffalo."

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nerk muneki potìtth ìr	" bell to facing that came buffalo."
putùdr mun kekitth ìr	" *tùdr* tree back (face ?) rubbed buffalo."
Kitheri kùtk ethkitth ìr	" Kitheri stream to jumped buffalo."
pìlthsk kattith ìr	" desolate pen from made buffalo."
Warwark ethkitth ìr	" Warwar (stream) to jumped buffalo."
ë khuberam kitj erdìtth ëram	" seven heaps buffalo-dung fire set buffaloes."
pèrudr	bell (*mani*) or *pùrs* dairy.
unèr	ditto.
persagun	*mani* of *pars* dairy.
talg	ditto.
nàrvtùls	lamp.
poikar	*pùrs* dairy.
pìrsvòh	*pars* dairy.
tinnudri	pen.
kakùnnudri	ditto.
nirkar	dairy spring.
tùlinir	ditto.
pùnpòh	dairy at Enòdr.
kàtà	pen at Enòdr.
pùnnir	spring at Enòdr.
Enòdr	Enòdr *ti mad.*
mòdrpòh	dairy at Pars.
peiltà	pen at Pars.
tùlinir	spring at Pars.
Pars	Pars *ti mad.*
àtàrnudri	dairy at Neradr.
mòrienars	pen at Neradr.
Neradr	Neradr *ti mad*
pùlvòh	dairy at Kòn.
anars	ditto.
tadrvdz	pen at Kòn.
pìndzunir	spring at Kòn.
Kòn	Kòn *ti mad.*

Then follow " *tanenma tarmama*," &c.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer given above are arranged in a definite order. First come the *kwarzam* of sixteen gods or of hills or places closely connected with gods, then follow six *kwarzam* referring to various incidents in the life of the god Korateu. These are followed by two *kwarzam* of buffaloes, and then follow six referring to various features of the founding of Makars, of which an account has been given on

234x 192 788 p. 116. Then follows a *kwarzam* relating to an incident which is probably recent. The *palol* of this *ti* used to make seven heaps of the dung of the buffaloes. There is a law that the dung should not be sold, which the *palol* disobeyed, and soon after a fire broke out suddenly from the seven heaps, and this event is commemorated in the prayer by means of the *kwarzam* meaning "seven heaps of buffalo-dung, fire set buffaloes," and is included among the *kwarzam* relating to buffaloes, probably because there was a belief that the anger of the buffaloes was the cause of the fire.

The buffalo *kwarzam* are followed by eleven referring to the bells of the *ti* and to the dairy, pen and spring of Makars, and these are followed by *kwarzam* referring to the other places of the *ti*—viz., Enòdr, Pars, Neradr, and Kòn. In each case there are said the *kwarzam* of the dairy, pen, spring, and place except in the case of Neradr, where for some reason the *kwarzam* of the spring is omitted.

192 723 788 The feature of the Makars prayer which is especially interesting is the reference to legend in the *kwarzam*. This reference occurs in the Kuudr prayer and in those of Kanòdrs and Anto, but the references are far more elaborate in the Makars prayer. These references were very useful in providing incidental confirmation of the details of legends previously obtained, while in other cases they put me on the track of stories which I might otherwise have failed to obtain. One point of interest connected with them is that, in the absence of the legends, they might easily be supposed to be meaningless sentences. We have seen that there is reason to believe that the Todas are forgetting much of their mythology, and if the legends referred to in the Makars prayer should be forgotten, these *kwarzam* would become meaningless formulæ. This appears to have happened already in some cases; there were certain *kwarzam* of which I could obtain no translation; thus, all the *kwarzam* of the clans and villages were of this nature and could not be explained, though they almost certainly had a definite origin. A good instance of a *kwarzam* which is on its way towards a similar fate is that at the end of the Kuudr prayer. The meaning of only one word was clear —viz., *nâkh*—while *maj* was probably the word for cloud, and

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the *kwarzam* appears to refer to some incident of legend in which a three-year-old calf and a cloud were concerned, but I could obtain no record of the incident, nor of the legend of which the incident was a feature.

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I have treated these formulæ of the dairy as prayers, and I think there can be very little doubt that they are of the nature of supplications, and are believed to invoke the aid of the gods in protecting the sacred buffaloes. It must be confessed, however, that there is no actual evidence in the formulæ of direct invocation of the gods. The name of no god is mentioned in the vocative form. In some prayers there is barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' be limited to the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops.

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The exact relation between the formula and the gods largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is not quite clear. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is evident that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned, followed by the words *âthem idith emk tâucvud*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

There is little doubt that the Todas offer prayers to their gods in their ordinary daily life, altogether apart from the dairy ritual. I was told by one man that when anyone leaves an *etudmad* he should pray that he may return safely, and in this case my informant said that he prayed to Teikirzi. Unfortunately I did not ask the exact form of the prayer, and do not know whether the goddess was invoked by name or whether *kwarzam* were uttered of the same form as in the prayer of the dairy. We may, however, be confident that the idea of supplication to the gods is not foreign to the Toda mind.

We shall see later that in the formulæ used in Toda sorcery, the names of gods are mentioned, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formulæ. In the magical formulæ the evidence of appeal to deities is somewhat stronger than in the case of the dairy formulæ,

192 which are certainly of a religious character. It seems most
782 likely that the word *idith* was at one time used especially
●788 in connexion with the names of gods, and carried with it some idea of supplication. Gradually other sacred objects were included in the prayer, the same form being used for them as for the gods, this inclusion being prompted by the belief that the mention of any sacred object might help to promote the efficacy of the prayer. Later, when any mysterious and seemingly miraculous incident occurred at a village, it seems to have become the custom to commemorate it in the prayer.

It is quite clear that at the present time the earlier portion of the prayer, consisting of the *kwarzam*, is regarded as more important than the latter portion, which reads like the actual prayer. I suspect even that in practice the prayer proper is often omitted, or that only the first two words, *tanenma, tarmama*, are said. There certainly seemed to be no very rigorous laws as to the exact number or order of the clauses of this part of the prayer. The earlier portion, on the other hand, is very strictly regulated, and the order in which the *kwarzam* are to be uttered is definitely prescribed. Certainly there is far more reticence in connexion with the *kwarzam*, and this may safely be taken to indicate that a higher degree of sanctity attaches to them than to the words of the prayer proper.

It is probable that the alteration in the relative importance attached to the two parts of the prayer would have to go little further in order to produce a state of things in which the Toda dairyman would use the first parts of the formulæ only, and an anthropologist visiting the Todas at this stage would find them using formulæ which would not be recognisable as prayer.

If, at the same time, the process of forgetting their mythology should also have advanced, the Todas would then provide an excellent example of a people using in their religious ritual meaningless forms of words, and the Toda *kwarzam* seem to furnish one way in which people may come to use such meaningless forms.

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CHAPTER XI

THE DAIRY RITUAL

In the preceding chapters I have given an account of an 182
elaborate ritual wholly connected with the buffalo and with
the dairy. This ritual is certainly of [illegible] religious character, 771
and, though there is much in the nature of the dairy formulæ 783
which is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they are 788
intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into
definite relations with the Toda deities. 796

It seems most probable that the general idea underlying the dairy ritual is that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance, the milk of the buffaloes. This sacred substance is to be converted into other substances, butter and buttermilk, which are to be used by the profane. At the present time much of the butter goes to those who are not even Todas and are regarded by the Todas as inferior beings.

It seems most probable that the elaborate ritual has grown up as a means of counteracting the dangers likely to be incurred by this profanation of the sacred substance, or, in other words, as a means of removing a taboo which prohibits the general use of the substance.

Similarly the migration ceremonies have the general underlying idea of counteracting any possible evil influence which may accompany the passage of the buffaloes through the profane world from one sacred place to another. During the migration, objects may be seen by the multitude which under ordinary circumstances are strictly screened from the general gaze, and objects may be touched, or be in danger of being touched, by people who ordinarily may not even see them.

132 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

783 The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
776 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features
being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *poneup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

COMPARISON OF THE PROCEDURE OF DIFFERENT DAIRIES

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

788 One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels
and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the separation. All the vessels are kept in the same room, but in different parts of the room, the *patatmar* and the *ertatmar*, and this distinction between the two sets of objects is kept up in the migration ceremonies where they are carried by different men. 234 783 788 778

There are no striking differences in this respect between the lower grades of dairy, whether *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, or *wursuli*; in all, the two sets of vessels are separated, but no strict measures are taken to prevent a vessel of the *patatmar* from coming into contact with a vessel of the *ertatmar* during the dairy operations. It is only on reaching the *kugvali* of Taradr that we find an intermediate vessel, the *kavan*, used to transfer substances from a vessel of the more sacred to one of the less sacred kind, and to prevent possible contamination of the former by the latter.

It is in the *ti* dairy that these precautions reach their highest degree of development. Here the two sets of vessels are kept in different rooms, separated by a screen, and the dairy products are never transferred directly from a vessel of one kind to a vessel of the other, but always by means of an intermediate vessel. The butter and buttermilk produced by the churning operations in the inner room are transferred to the vessels of the outer room by means of the *idrkwoi*, which is kept on the dividing line between the two compartments. Similarly the vessels into which the butter and buttermilk are received are never allowed to come into direct contact with objects from the outside world, but their contents are transferred to vessels used outside the dairy by means of intermediate vessels, the *appun* or the *morpun*.

In the migrations of the *ti* buffaloes this strict separation between the two kinds of vessel is still kept up. The things of the inner room are carried by the *palol* himself, while the things of the outer room are carried by others. The *idrkwoi*, though carried by the *palol* on the same staff as the things of the inner room, is kept apart from the rest, and is not allowed to touch them.

The fires of the *ti* dairy furnish another interesting example of the principle by which sacred objects are prevented from coming directly into relation with objects which may have

234 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The
778 lamp is not lighted directly from the *tòratthwaskal*, which is
788 probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is
transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from
783 which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an intermediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[237] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any money to the *palol* at Mòdr, I placed it on a stone from which it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol* and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the *kugvali* of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of intermediate links, but there is such an example during the ordination of the *wursol*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candidate milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches ceremonially the *mujpariv* and the *patat* at the beginning of the afternoon churning, while at the *wursuli* this is done both morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kakkaditi*, in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

234 the same occasion, and it is only followed regularly in certain
778 dairies of the *wursuli* grade, viz., Nòdrs, Nasmiòdr, Òdr, and
783 Kozhtudi. The first has a conical dairy, and Nasmiòdr and
Òdr are especially ancient and sacred places. At the *kugvali*
788 and the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, the dairy ceremonial
is always performed *kabkaditi*. At one ceremony, that of *irpalvusthi*, the work of the dairy is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy of whatever grade.

The lamp-lighting is another feature which becomes more frequent and more ceremonial in the higher grades of dairy. In all the village dairies, including the *kugvali* of Taradr,[1] the lamp is only lighted ceremonially at the afternoon churning, the lighting being made the occasion of prayer. If the morning is dark, the lamp may be lighted, but it is clear that this is not done ceremonially, and the lighting is not accompanied by prayer. At the *ti* we have already seen that the lamp is lighted in a more ceremonial manner and in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

Some of the details of the ritual are definitely associated with the *mani*, and since the presence of a *mani* implies a higher grade of dairy, this leads to an increase in the elaboration of the ritual. The *mani* is treated in much the same way in all the grades of dairy which possess this sacred object.

Another feature in which the increasing sanctity of the dairy is shown is the frequency with which prayer is offered. At all the village dairies the dairyman only prays at the afternoon ceremonial when lighting the lamp, and when shutting up the buffaloes in their pen for the night. As already mentioned, there is a definite association between prayer and the ceremonial lamp-lighting.

234 In the *ti* dairy, prayer is offered both morning and evening;
778 at the morning ceremonial twice and in the afternoon
three times. On both occasions the first prayer begins when
788 the lamp is being lighted and is continued while the *palol* knocks on one of the *persin* with the *persinkudriki*. The second prayer in each case is offered at the conclusion of the milking, and the third prayer of the afternoon corresponds to

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[1] I am doubtful about this point at the *pali* of Kanòdrs.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep
in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*On*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called
tuni. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
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The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth 234
of the same kind, called *än*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the 292
funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing
of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly 793
the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial 178
in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual.

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *polikartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is 234
another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the 778
tarvali it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali*
it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses 788
tudr in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*.

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[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

234 The use of *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies is only allowed
778 to the members of the Teivali division and of the Melgars
788 clan of the Tartharol.

Special kinds of dairy or special dairies may have features peculiar to themselves; thus the *pepeirthti* ceremony, in which the dairyman beats on the *patat* with a piece of *tudr* bark, is only performed at the *kudrpali*; the prescription of nakedness when milking is confined to the *kudrpalikartmokh*; the special method of wearing the *putkuli* open in front when going to the buffaloes is only practised by the *wursol*, and the method of taking food sitting on the wall of the dairy and throwing the food into the mouth is peculiar to the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs.

One feature of interest in the dairy organisation is the existence of different names at different dairies for the dairy products, and for the various objects used at the dairy or in connexion with the dairy ceremonies. The chief differences are found on comparing the village dairy with the *ti*, nearly every object having a different name in the two places, though occasionally a peculiarity of nomenclature may be confined to one dairy, as at Kanòdrs, where milk is called *persin*, the name of the churning vessel of the *ti*. As a general rule it seems that the name used in the village dairy is the same as that in ordinary use; thus, the dairy vessels used in the house for the milk of the ordinary buffaloes are known by the same names as those of the village dairy.

192 The use of special names in the more sacred dairies is
234 probably connected with their high degree of sanctity. The names of the dairy vessels of the village are in common use,
778 and it would doubtless seem sacrilegious that the names of
788 the vessels of the *ti* should be thus in everyone's mouth. Consequently nearly every object used in the ceremonial of the *ti* dairy has a special name, and in the ordinary life of the Todas these words are probably never uttered.

One striking feature of the dairy ritual is the use of the syllable *On*. With one exception (p. 177) this word is always uttered thrice, and it seems to be especially connected with the act of putting curds or milk on the bells. It has a suggestive resemblance to the mystical syllable *Om* of the Hindus. It is

also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, [192]
or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which 234
the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other 778
examples have been given.

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the 788
right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitün* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

The Sanctity of Milk 234

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different 778
dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating 272
the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that 784

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained 234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over [262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming 415 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con- 778 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel 788 of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used, partly as a receptacle for the milk which is about to be churned, and partly to fetch water from the stream. It is highly probable that there was at one time a third *mu* in the dairy, which was a receptacle for the buttermilk added before milking. 234 415 778 788

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[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

At the especially sacred dairy of Kanòdrs, where ancient procedure is likely to have lingered, the buried *mu* is still used as a receptacle for buttermilk. When this dairy is unoccupied, a certain amount of buttermilk is kept in the buried *mu*, and when the dairy is again occupied, this buttermilk is used to add to the milk. In this case the continuity of the dairy procedure is directly kept up by means of the buried vessel, and this procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy is strongly in favour of the view that the buried vessel was formerly a receptacle for the *pep*.

There are other indications that the *mu* is the most sacred of the dairy vessels. It is this vessel which is touched by the *wursol* the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, as the final act which gives them their full status at the ordination ceremonies, and we shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies at Taradr a temporary building is made to represent a dairy by placing in its inner room a *mu*. In this last case, it would seem that the *mu* is regarded as the emblem of the dairy, and that placing a *mu* in the inner room of the temporary building makes it a dairy.

The representative of the *mu* at the *ti* dairy is the *peptòrzum*, but it does not seem that this vessel is specially distinguished from the rest, and it does not appear to have the sanctity and importance which attaches to this kind of vessel at the village dairy.

There seem to be two chief possibilities in explaining the existence of the buried *mu*. It may be that it was at one time the custom to bury the *pep* while the village was unoccupied, and that this custom now only persists at Kanòdrs, the *mu* at other places being no longer used for this purpose, though it has continued to be of ceremonial importance. The other possibility is that, as the *pep* acquired increased importance in the dairy ritual, the sanctity of the buttermilk was transferred to the vessel which contained it, and the

234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
415 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was there-
fore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan.
781 It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by
the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full develop-
ment of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its
special sanctity.

261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy
ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

PURITY AND IMPURITY

234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
783 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual,
the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised : (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity ; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

It will have been noticed that the formulae recorded in this
754 chapter have the same general form as the prayers of the
788 dairy ritual. They consist of sentences ending in *mā*, which
192 seem to be of the nature of supplications that certain things
771 may come to pass, preceded by the names of certain deities followed by the word *idith*, occasionally with other sentences allied in meaning to these. The two parts of the prayer are represented, but the first part, consisting of the *kwarzam*, does not appear to have acquired the same degree of importance as in the prayer. Thus the magical formulæ of the Todas have precisely the same general form as those used in their religious ritual. In the case of the prayer, I have pointed out that the actual words leave one in doubt as to whether there is anything of the nature of a direct appeal to the gods. In the magical formulæ, on the other hand, the case for an
[776] appeal to the gods is stronger. In all the formulæ, whether used by sorcerers to bring evils on their enemies or by medicine-men to remove sufferings of various kinds, the names of the same four deities are mentioned, and these four deities, Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti, are undoubtedly four of the most ancient and sacred of the Toda gods. It is noteworthy that the sorcerer does not say the names of these gods when he is removing his spells, but simply refers to them as "those gods," and it is clear that he does this because he does not wish his victim to learn the names of the gods by whose power his misfortunes have been brought about and are now to be removed. This procedure leaves little room for doubt that it is through the active intervention of the gods that the sorcerer is believed to work.

There still remains the question whether the words of the magical formula imply anything of the nature of supplication, or whether the sorcerer is not rather using forms of words which will compel the gods to exert their powers in the way the sorcerer wishes. I have no definite information as to the belief of the Toda sorcerer on the point, but the almost contemptuous tone of the two clauses which follow the names of the four gods might perhaps be held to point to the latter conclusion, and to indicate that the sorcerer can use the gods as his instruments of wrath much as seems to have been the case with the magicians of our mediæval times.

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*â teu* 192 *sati udâsnûdr, an nòdr nòdr udâsnûdr*," may have originally 788 had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnûdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct.

The nature of the words used makes it clear that the 755 remedies employed by the Toda *utkòren*, or medicine-men, 788 are of a magical kind. The words are essentially the same as those used by the *pilikòren*, or sorcerers, to remove the 753 evils they have brought about by their previous magical incantations. The same formulæ are used to remove ills supposed to be due to natural causes as are used to remove those due to the workings of magic. It seems clear that the Todas have advanced beyond the stage of human culture in which all misfortunes are produced by magic. They recognise that some ills are not due to human intervention, but yet they employ the same kind of means to remove these ills as are employed to remove those brought about by human agency. 754 The advance of the Todas is shown most clearly by the differentiation of function between *pilikòren* and *utkòren*, 756 between sorcerers and medicine-men, and we seem to have here a clear indication of the differentiation between magic and medicine. The two callings are followed by different men, who are entirely distinct from one another, but both use the same kind of formula to bring about the effect they desire to produce. It seems that the powers of the *utkòren* are less definitely passed on from father to son than in the case of the *pilikòren*. There is no doubt that these powers depend largely on a knowledge of the words to be used, and especially on a knowledge of the names of the four gods, but it

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical
remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a
recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never
become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

● 788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these
192 formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher
powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer
case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it
is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling
character. If there is a distinct address in the case of
the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge
to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words
of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to
deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils
from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems
almost certain that for this good end the words imply not
only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a
supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ ~~of the dairy~~ and those
of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names
of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation,
i.e., Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam
meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close
relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer
and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between
the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the
names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the
prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at
some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most
important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also 771 possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell 788 points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer 754 were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it 793 became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions, and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of function, though the means used continue to show a close resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

OMENS

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meeting 787 certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The 825 most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird 778 called *karpüls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If 177 a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus.

773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct,
796 Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI PRAYER OF KUUDR

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarsam* of villages are mentioned:
● 788 *Atthkâr* and *Òners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
601 *Moskar* and *Manĕthi* (Òdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsûlh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Tlindenk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsĕram parsĕram*, *Nòtĕrzk ĕr usht mâ.*

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarsam* and that two *kwarsam* of Òdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

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[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol 192
followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this 782
case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The 788
following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages
in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kiugners* 621
(Keshker), *Külnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Eḍstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòḍshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tüli*, *Sing*, *Keitaz*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ekîrzam meidjam*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ekîrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârzk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to
Kulinkars. 234

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the 782
Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, 789
but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make 796

the kind called *kwadrikars*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*achok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatiti*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties. 846

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion[1] to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *terigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol. [431]

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf. 846 234 853 788

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

[1] [The ceremony after childbirth -- Analysis]

846 suggested is the most probable one; but this can only be conjecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have
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now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other
853
reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

● 788 The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however,
174 has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *än*. As we shall see later, the *än* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madtuni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *än* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

000 A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

527 sacred days, and if the latter were then to be neglected, we should have a community in which various activities were pro-
621 hibited on one day of the week, and the institution so arising would differ very little from the Hebrew Sabbath. It is possible that the Todas show in an early stage the institution of a Sabbath in which the whole community has not yet settled on a single and joint holy day.

SACRED NUMBERS

788 Certain numbers recur with great frequency in the dairy ceremonial, and may be regarded as having a special sanctity
801 on this account. There seems to be a general preference for uneven numbers, and this preference comes out very strongly in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which an uneven number of men must take part on any one occasion. The number of men performing this ceremony together must be three, five, seven, nine, &c.

In the dairy ritual the numbers which occur chiefly are three, seven and nine, but other numbers have also been singled out in other branches of Toda lore. The numbers which occur in ceremonial may now be considered in detail.

Three.—A large proportion of the ritual acts of the dairy are performed three times, usually with the accompaniment of the sacred syllable, *On* uttered thrice, once with each performance of the act. This three-fold performance is especially marked in the ceremony of putting milk or curds on the sacred bells and in the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk. In the ordination ceremonies, the number occurs less frequently. The purificatory drinking is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, but after drinking, the candidate rubs himself three times with the shoots or bark, and, at the ordination of a *palol*, the candidate drinks three times seven on several occasions. Other acts during the ordination of the *palol* are also performed thrice, and the same number occurs in the ordination of the *kaltmokh*.

Acts are performed thrice with special frequency in the ceremonial of the *ti*, and, at the ordinary dairy, this number is especially connected with the 'feeding' of the sacred bell, and there is no doubt that it is a number regarded as especially sacred. Whenever the sacred syllable *On* is used, it is nearly always uttered thrice, and there seems to be a special association between the number three and this word. 788 801

In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony three branches of *tudr* leaves are used, and they and the log with which the calf is killed are passed round the body of the animal thrice. Later in the ceremony three pieces of wood are thrown over the fire.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth, the woman drinks thrice on various occasions, in the *pursütpimi* ceremony the name of the bow is asked and the answer given three times, and in the ceremony of name-giving three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the child and three into his hair.

At the funeral ceremonies, earth is thrown three times on the corpse and three times into the pen, the body is swung on the fire three times, and at the final scene of the *azaramkedr* the man who rings the bell goes round the burial place of the ashes thrice. Three *ovilaikkdrs* are thrown by the man who crosses the pathway of the dead. The number three is not limited to the dairy ritual, but is of frequent occurrence in the whole of Toda ceremonial.

The number three also appears in connexion with magical or semi-magical practices. The various methods of treatment used by the *ashkvan* are carried out three times and never more frequently than this, and the sufferer who drinks hot water to allay the effects of fright also does this thrice. A remedy is probably held to be more potent if repeated the same number of times as in the case of so many sacred acts. [765]

Five.—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial except in certain ceremonies at the Nōdrs *ti* which are repeated five times because there are five groups of buffaloes belonging to this dairy. The number in this case has, however, no ceremonial significance, and is merely a consequence of the fact that one *palol* at this *ti* has three groups and the other two groups of buffaloes. The only other occurrence of the number is at the Kars *ti*, where the ancient lamp probably had five cavities, but even this is doubtful.

The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The 800

The number five comes in one place in Toda ways. The
754 sorcerer, who wishes to injure one who has not granted his
801 request, hides five stones tied together with hair in the thatch of his enemy's hut.

● 782 *Six.*—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial,
801 but it seems to be regarded as an auspicious number in some ways. In Teitnir's lament for his wife, reference is made to the hope that they might have had six children and six buffaloes, and in the prayer on the occasion of the ear-piercing ceremony, one clause runs "may he have six sons."

Six sticks are used to make the artificial dairy of the hand-burning ceremony, but this is an obvious result of the fact that the dairy has to have two rooms.

Seven.—This number is especially prominent in the ordination ceremonies. The purificatory drinking out of leaf-cups is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, the *palikartmokh* drinking seven times only, the *wursol* seven times seven, and the *palol* three times seven, seven times seven and nine times seven at different periods of his prolonged ordination ceremonies. At the dairies of Taradr and Kanòdrs, the number occurs in a different form, seven different kinds of leaf being used in the purificatory ceremonies.

The number occurs again in connexion with the lamp. At the Nòdrs *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and possibly at other dairies, there used to be lamps, each of which had seven cavities and seven wicks. Some of these lamps have been lost, but two remain at the dairies mentioned. I have already referred to the fact that some of the ancient lamps were said to have had five wicks, but it seems clear that in the only two examples which survive there are seven wicks, and it is possible that this was the number in all.

Another occurrence of the number seven is in the old dairies of the Nòdrs clan which had seven rooms. The funeral dairies, which are undoubtedly very ancient institutions, have three rooms, and the Nòdrs dairies, also undoubtedly ancient, had seven, but I heard of no case in which a dairy had four, five, or six rooms.

Outside the dairy ceremonial, the only occurrence of this number is in the lament of Teitnir for his wife, in which he speaks of their visiting seven courts and seven ships.

It is perhaps significant that the number seven should be a 788
sacred number to a people who have so highly developed the
cult of different days of the week. It is possible that the 801
purificatory drinkings of the ordination ceremonies were at
one time performed seven times with the idea that the candidate was sanctifying himself for each day of the week, but at the present time it is clear that the act is performed seven times because this number is prescribed by custom. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the sanctity of the number seven occurs predominantly in the religious cults of peoples who have a seven-day week.

Nine.—This number only occurs in the dairy ceremonial during the ordination of the *palol* when the seven-fold purification with *tudr* is performed nine times.

Twelve.—I only met with this number once, in the prayer at the *pilinortiti* ceremony, when the expression "12 years" is used as if it were equivalent to "for ever."

Sixteen and *Eighteen.*—The chief interest of these numbers 776
is that they are used in connexion with the gods. There are 801
said to be 1600, 1800 gods, and these numbers are mentioned
in the prayer of the Kanodrs dairy and in the legends. The numbers are probably used in the way in which we should use the word 'infinite,' but there must be some reason why they should have been chosen.

The number 18 occurs in another connexion in the rule 801
that the *palol* should perform a certain ceremony after
eighteen years of continuous office.

I have one possible clue to the choice of the number 824
eighteen. The Todas say that a species of Strobilanth growing 801
on the Nilgiris as a shrub only flowers once in eighteen years.
They call this shrub *pavkat*, and it was in flower during the 805
year of my visit. Albert, my interpreter, had only seen it in
flower once or twice, but had not paid special attention to the duration of the flowering period. The number of times that several Todas had seen the flowers agreed approximately with their probable ages. Thus, Kutadri saw the flowers in 1902 for the third time, having seen them for the first time when he was twelve years old. This would make his age forty-eight, which seemed from other sources of information to be

CHAPTER XVIII

SACRED PLACES AND OBJECTS

THE Todas show undoubted signs of reverence to various material objects. Many of the objects so reverenced have been mentioned incidentally in the account of the dairy ritual and in other places, and in this chapter I propose to consider how far these objects are regarded as sacred, and to give an account of some sacred objects not hitherto noticed. 778

Of the various objects of reverence the following are the most important: hills and rivers; villages, dairies, their thresholds and contents; bells; the buffalo and its milk; trees and plants; the sun, fire and light; and stones.

HILLS AND OTHER PLACES.

Any place connected with the gods is reverenced by the 778
the Todas, and this is especially the case with the hills where 823
they dwell. Only some hills, however, are shown reverence 788
by means of the *kaimukhti* salutation. One of these is the hill of Nōtirzi (Snowdon), and every Toda visiting this hill salutes with hand to forehead in all directions. Another place where a similar salutation is performed is a spot at Avalanche Top. When I visited this place with Kutadri he saluted in all directions with both hands to his face, and told me that a man who once omitted to do this was killed soon after by a tiger. In this case I could not learn that Kutadri was saluting any particular hill or other spot. He seemed to be saluting the region of the Kundahs on which he was about to enter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

778 There are doubtless other places where the same sign of
788 reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

778 There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the
Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by
788 gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and
823 there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda
784 crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

778 The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at
784 certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary
people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the
788 *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas
823 habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the
793 restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross 778
the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the 784
rank of *perkursol*.

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be 788
crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi 823
is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village 778
is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as 621
sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have
some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a 788
clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue
to be treated with some degree of reverence.

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburiti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

621 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be.
778 When going from Ootacamund to Paikara by the bridle path
788 the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from
the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *naim* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages,"
621 where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually
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784
788

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and 562
are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation 621
which could be given was that owing to the short time they 778
are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family
to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were 784
definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a 788
woman may live being distinguished as *iskuidvaimad*—and
this suggests that the institution is based on something more
than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind
of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should
live in them.

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kuḍrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kaloimad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute 621
arises between two men they are taken to the front of the 627
dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has
happened, and anything a man says under these conditions 761
will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak 778
the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die.

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

621 627 778 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 621 778 788 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

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[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.

[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

234 778 This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room.

[114] In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops.

THE THRESHOLD

234 778 788 As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination.

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kakar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

778 Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind,
and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas
534 in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of
when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

778 Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to
788 them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of
which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell
234 called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan
534 *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

771 Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the
778 Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would
justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a
534 definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent,
regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in 234
part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes 778
by which they were borne.

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one time to have been more sacred, or to have received more
definite signs of reverence than at the present time. [773]
The evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mad* at Makars was a very human animal.

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as 234
the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the 778
night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by 788
bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *palol* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals.

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. 234
There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more 778
onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world.

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the

THE SUN, LIGHT, AND FIRE

778 There is no doubt that the sun is an object of reverence to
● 788 the Todas. It is the duty of every man when first he leaves
his hut in the morning to salute the sun by raising his hand
821 to his face in the *kaimukhti* salutation. The sun is also saluted by the *palol* as he comes out of his dairy to milk the buffaloes. All my informants were unanimous in saying that the salutation of the *palol* was both to the buffaloes and to the sun. The doors of the great majority of the dairies faced more or less in an easterly direction, so that the dairyman, on coming out of his dairy in the morning, would see the sun, and when the dairy had a different orientation, as at Mòdr, the *palol* had to turn so that he would perform the salutation looking eastward. At the afternoon ceremonial the salutation was performed in the same direction as in the morning, so that, so far as the salutation is performed to the sun, it would appear that it is to the place of the sun-rise rather than to the sun itself.

The sun plays a part in the ceremony which takes place when a woman goes to the seclusion-hut after childbirth, but there was some reason to think that this was due to the belief in the noxious influence of the mysterious body, Keirt, which is near the sun, and not to the influence of the sun itself. When performing the ceremony on leaving the seclusion-hut the woman faces the sun, and this may be an act of reverence, since now Keirt is no longer feared. It seemed quite clear that the moon is not saluted in the same way as the sun with the *kaimukhti* salutation. No salutation is paid at all to the new moon when it is first seen, but after a day or two, usually on the third day, it is the custom to bow down the head, so that the forehead rests on the corner of the *putkuli* lying on the ground. The salutation is that called *nersatiti* shown in Fig. 44. I only heard of one custom indicating reverence to the full moon. When the Todas throw away water on the day of the full moon, they do not throw it towards the moon, but away from it. Thus, if the moon is opposite the door of the hut, the people will go round to the back in order to throw the water there.

water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to 778
the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household 788
lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by
bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence 373
is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light 354
it gives are also undoubtedly reverenced, and lighting the
lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character.

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not reverenced merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, 372
but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a 778
sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old
dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricka* cere- 354
mony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces, one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light the sacred lamp directly from it.

The fire of the *tòratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, 372
and especially at those called *teutütusthchi* and *erkumptthpimi* and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman conducting the ceremony. At the *asaramkedr* of a man the fire is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities
776 whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
782 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are
788 the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual.
In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are
believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
787 the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed
791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teuol*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

776 very vague. On the other hand, certain gods of obviously more
recent origin seem to be replacing, to some extent, the older
gods. The lives of Kwoten and Meilitars, can be related by
many in great detail, but though they seem to inspire more
interest among the Todas I cannot say that I observed anything
to show that they receive any special worship or reverence.
[773] Meilitars is especially mentioned in the Kanòdrs prayer, but
this would only put him on a level with many objects of no
great amount of sanctity. The attitude of the Todas towards
these two beings seemed to me to be rather that of people
towards heroes than towards gods, though the mythology has
raised them to the level of the gods.

771 Nevertheless, the idea of "god" is highly developed among
the Todas and I am inclined to believe that the most satisfac-
776 tory explanation of the Tòda deities is that the people came
to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes have been raised to the ranks of the gods and that the lives of these heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the progress towards complete obliviscence; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods.

The Todas, then, show us a stage of religious belief in which gods once believed to be real, living among men and intervening actively in their affairs, have become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible and intervening in the affairs of men in a mysterious manner and chiefly in the case of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given.

771 The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in
which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom
788 of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an
example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated

by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this 771
domination has taken a form in which ritual has become 788
all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarzam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degener- 771
ated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason 778
to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly 782
present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the 788
gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of
the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground 182
than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
● 786 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance
have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred
from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy
vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of
182 old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I
made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and
784 several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been
recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems 183
of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *wursol* 771
goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. 784
Probably the behaviour of the *kaltmokh* in the sleeping
hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign
that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable
and perhaps dangerous custom.

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development 771
of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those 182
ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up 788●
and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which
are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them,
may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while
religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may
be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show
us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration
of religion.

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the 182
simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to 771
help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I 174
am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Male matchuni have also to go through a ceremony when they pass in company over either of the two sacred rivers of the Todas, the Paikara (Teipakh) and the Avalanche (Pakhwar). As the two men approach the river, they pluck and chew some grass, and each man says to the other "*pò tüdrikina, pò kudrikina?*"—"Shall I throw the river (water), shall I cross the river?" or, instead of the second sentence, they may say "*pò pùkkhina?*"—"Shall I enter the river?" They then go to the side of the river and each man dips his hand in the water and throws a handful away from him three times and then they cross the river, each with the right arm outside the cloak as is usual when crossing these sacred streams. 602 606 718

If the *matchuni* cross on a Tuesday, Friday or Saturday[1] they do not throw water, but are content with chewing the grass, and if the funeral ceremonies of a person belonging to the clan of either are not complete the water will not be thrown.

This ceremony performed by *matchuni* when crossing a sacred river was said to be connected with the legend given on p. 592, in which two *matchuni* are concerned.

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[1] Properly the river should not be crossed at all on these days (see p. 418).

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
237 material called *tundriner* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordination
292 of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the *putuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *tundriner* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpiri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
569 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kodrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

METHODS OF WEARING THE HAIR

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 13.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutrni*, "head (or hair) who

172 furnishes us with another example of material objects which
174 have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and
here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken
182 place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas have had no enemies, either human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded by all.

174 In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration
182 the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with
an example of a people who once have possessed a higher
771 culture of which some features have undergone degeneration.
788 If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district, and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have been on much the same general level as that of the dominant castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because in their very simple environment this was the most accessible object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris; and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most probable that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect of their religion.

171 If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of
one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have
174 in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation, the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

CHAP. VIII.

but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of 264
the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says 788
Swâmi! Swâmi![7] then places it on the ground as a present to Bhumi tai[8] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors.

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonized 136
the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, pea-fowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[9]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffaloes, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would
face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore 233
and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the 857
presence of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere
striplings armed with light wands; knowing that the animals, 411
and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe.

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence 411
of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even
one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do 224
they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of

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[7] Swâmi = lord.

[8] Bhumi tai = earth mother. It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[9] Chen = red, nai = dog. May not the French chien be derived from chen = the red (one)?

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGION.

Prayers to Sun and Moon—The Mysterious confused with Godhead—No clear conception of a Supreme Being—The use of a God—Toda Belief—Amnôr—Where situated—Sin, Punishment, little Gods, Spirits, Witchcraft—Toda Religious Belief, whence derived.

CHAP. XII. 771

If by the word religion, we mean to imply devotion, piety, duty, as applied to the worship of God, Creator and Ruler; then the Todas are most certainly an irreligious people, judging of them, as we can alone judge, by their actions; whether we compare them by our own standard or through the rites and performances of simple races more in keeping with themselves.

788 They salaam to the rising and setting sun—birsh—and the moon—tiggalu[1]—at night, reciting the one formula of prayer which they use on all devout occasions; danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, *êr* ultama, karr ultama, eliam ultama, the meaning of which has already been translated in note 5 of Chapter VII. To see a man amongst his family, stand out on a moonlight night with hand to forehead, asking most gravely this blessing on his house, from one of the givers of light, is an impressive spectacle, though the address may have been made only to the moon.

771 We see from this formula what they acknowledge to be the fact; that they look on these luminaries as Gods, Lords—776 Dêr, Swâmi—not that they are, in the least degree, clear on the subject of their power, or the mode or limits of their

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[1] See note No. 5 of Chapter VII.

fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

773 124 But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an ex-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

463 554 773 Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

210 781 773 No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

180 234 781 The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive the existence of any very mystic rites among them. Whatever is done in these tirieris, is known to every intelligent

CHAP. XIV.

284 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have
hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from
the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely
on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe
or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to
be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

175 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is
such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail
of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

795 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family
778 and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The
pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

534 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be
found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

CHAPTER XV.

PRIESTLY DUTIES.

Pâlâl's daily routine—Salutes the sacred Herd—Milks the Cattle—Libations to the Bell-gods—Names of Toda Gods—Does the conception of invisible Gods arise from deficient organ of Form?—Todas revere Light, not Fire—Who is the Kâvilâl?—Pâlâl demonstrates that he is never touched—Milk held in religious regard—Pâlâl collects Kâtu for his Mand.

CHAP. XV.

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THE daily routine of the pâlâl's mysterious office was described to me nearly in the following words. 'On rising in the morning, I wash face, hands, and teeth, with the left hand.' In daily human life he had invariably used the right hand for this purpose; such being the custom with all Orientals certainly, who, eating with their fingers, find it necessary to reserve the right hand for that especial object. But remember the pâlâl is now a God, and to the pure all things are pure—fact!

'Then entering the inner room—ulg ârsh—of the house,' which is reserved for dairy purposes, the outer room—porram âlg ârsh—being the pâlâl's sleeping apartment, 'I make a leaf-lamp, into which I put clarified butter and 5 wicks, thus,' spreading out his fingers. I could not ascertain if the number 5 is essential, but it appeared to me to be so. 'The lamp is put into a niche in the wall, opposite the bells, which hang on the separate prongs of a stick thrust into the thatch of the roof. And I light in silence, nor salute either light—belak—or relics—maṇi.'

'Having taken up my wand and honnu or milk-pail, which

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 142

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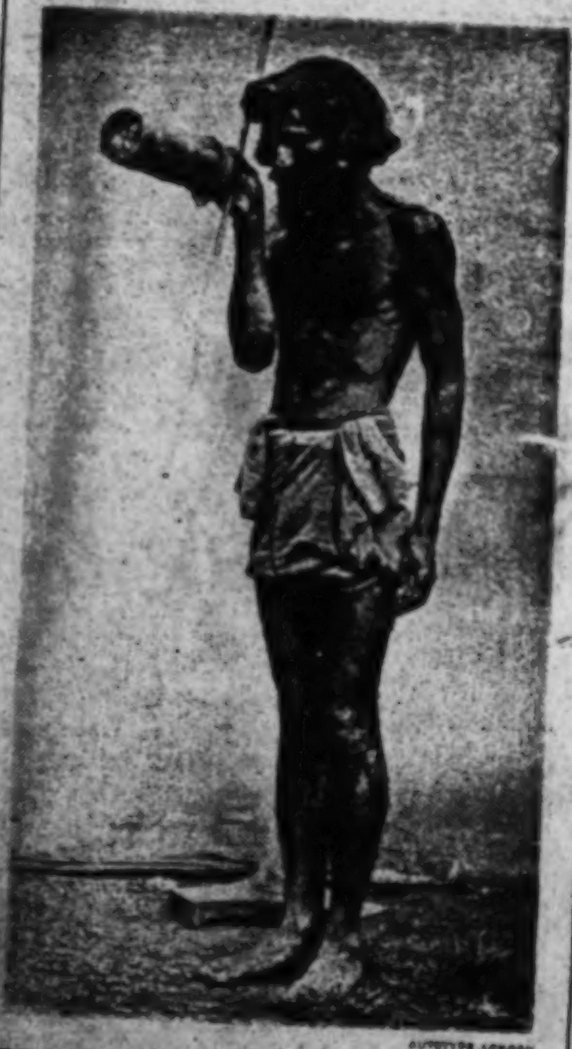

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

THE PÅLÅL SALUTES THE SACRED CATTLE.

is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn 234 towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them 788 by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu 793 hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

778 'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the 788 bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a 793 little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops 776 on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the names of the following Gods:—

Ânmungâno Godingâtho
Beligoshu Dekulâria
Kamdâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

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[1] Nin arzbini—*I adore thee.* See Chapter XVII., on the final Mand, for the application of these words.

unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan.
234 Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan,
793 the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a
618 Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle,
621 and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are
[562] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very
793 similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differ-
788 ences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

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[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up.* [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, 234 as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety 773 do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each 778 relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini 788 I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[1] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch 234 of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge 778 perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will 554 describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiriêri; the holy of holies, already described.

In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the 234 dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when 343 seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore 342 of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

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[1] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master or superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [Pope.]

CHAP. XXVIII.

saunter into the fold: the rest chew the cud in an indolent group outside.

512 The people sit about watching. And whilst some lads stand round the herd, to quiet the nervous with their voices, and to stop flirtations with their sticks, lest any disturbed cow should withhold a portion of her milk; the naked pâlkarpâl with honnus in hand, and pushing forward the mope-eyed sucking-calves, eases each mother in turn, of her oppressive load. Over all, the ripe glow of the declining sun; hallowing the innocent domestic scene which his rich beams have just ceased from glorifying.

Faces cheer up as the man returns to his dairy: and talking is resumed. We understand now their late anxiety and their present ease; the evening's *supply of food has been assured to them.*

Shortly, the mistress of the house may be observed through the little door of her cabin, squatted on the hearth inside; deftly feeding the fire in the vorshkâll, stick by stick, as she cooks the evening meal: head thrown back, eyes half-closed, with a hand outspread, warding the heat from her face. Outside, the family sit about or occupy themselves in shutting up the calves.

512 We note a man leaning against the village wall, mutter
● 788 'ekarvashk'—sunset. He rests his wand against the stones, and taking both arms out of his mantle, maintaining it in place with the elbows, leisurely puts feet to the ground. Bending slightly, and with joined hands to forehead, he says in a low tone, 'Êyan, appn! danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama!' Then readjusting his cloth, steps back again to his seat. He quietly watches the luminous God as it subsides in oriental glory behind the hill: then resuming the *sotto voce* conversation, enquires after the health of the new born calf, and if the mother has begun giving milk. An innocent grave smile plays on his face when told that both are doing well. 'A good cow!' he remarks, slowly nodding.

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Long looked for dinner appears to be ready; for the heated woman now emerges into the open air, and the men and boys enter the hut, leaving the females to prolong the talk. When each member of the community has in turn, eaten, and the offerings to bhumi tai have been swept out of doors, the whole family in the village join grouped about in primitive dinginess, and quiet unconspicuous attitude; some under the veranda eaves, others on the tûar, or under its quiet shelter: and there rehearse the day's events. The naked pâlkarpâl also, having completed his separate cooking, squats apart upon the wall, whence he can hear the news and add his distant note to the conversation.

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And thus the shades of evening close in upon them. The air grows chill, and the careful mother of the smallest, rises to take the infant she has kept under her dress, into the well baked house. She stops a moment: looks round to the sky where the Blushing moon, ascending vertically through the trees in hot pursuit of the now vanished sun, illumines her womanly face. 'Swâmi, Swâmi!' she mutters, with hands to forehead, supporting the while, her young one in the bend of her arm, 'Mokh ultama, ellam ultama:' and stopps in at the little doorway. Two or three sleepy-headed children soon stagger in after her. Note the pretty daughter in her teens, plump and white teethed, with hair tightly curled, and eyes that brilliantly catch the sparkle of the moon. She has been taught to say her prayers: but unmarried and without a care, the sense of responsibility is not strong upon her; she has no child to shiver for. She gives a rather hurried salute, bringing her head down to her hands, rather than take the young arms out of their envelope in the chill: a quick 'Êyan, appa!' and in she ducks, shutting the door after her. A prolonged rustle may be heard as the brood settle themselves

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in the dark, to rest on the warm hearth; with a mantle on the floor and another covering all their nakedness. The healthy baby, with eyes wide open, trying in vain to penetrate the gloom, disturbs the mother on the raised bed, who is now heard hushing and patting, hushing and patting, hushing and patting. A few nursery skirmishes, and all is still, within.

512 'Îrzhtâshk' says a man outside in the dark, yawning, 'it
512 is night—bed time.' 'Îrzhtâshk' is repeated by these men
● 788 of few words, rising. They separate for their different huts.
Two to join our family party, stopping before the door, quietly make their short address to the moon, asking *it*[1] to be gracious, and that all may be well with the cattle and with the village. Again the door shuts. A little more settling: the snatch of a song: the low mutter of talk: the cry of the disturbed baby, and all again is hushed.

000 Irzhtâshk, I iterate, and impressed with the lonely and exceptional beauty of the position, mount the hill; to see and to think. Not a sound is to be heard over the vast expanse, save the curious tick ticking of nature at work in the short grass. Overhead, the dear moon, now brilliant, pursuing her serene course in the transparent ether,

> 'this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestic
> roof fretted with golden fire,'

illumines hill and dale, close prospect and far distant view, miles away down in the plains below: now showing the rounded outlines of tracts of forest, and the spurs of receding hills: now throwing a brilliant dart through the poor man's woods close by; bringing out each stick of the gnarled trees with the free hand of an accomplished artist, and sheening gracefully into the women's secluded bathing place: then resting firmly and fully, but softly, on the roof of his humble dwelling in the open patch of hill side—the home, the sanctum—and counting his cattle in their pen; tinting each horn and moving shiny back of the living group, the better to see them. She traverses all his free domain; the undulating pastures and the lonely tarn: examines the single tree out on the wild,

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[1] Some savage races reverence the moon as a god, ever in pursuit of the sun goddess; but the Todas are very ignorant, and do not know to what sexes these luminaries belong.

Kuttam Muimands.

	Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
103			
621	1. Kodanâd	Músdéhyáld	Kérshandk.
	2. Pangôd	Pērgârsh.	
776	3. Âr	Tírsh pâlsh (in ruins).	
778	4. Nirsh	Ponarshaldf.	
	5. Kanorsh	Muderahva.	

Todi Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Puirtāl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârzhtith	Kátéttivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângúlar. Kânj.
4. Térahdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérköérsh	Musdahyáldf.	
6. Kúramársh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirsâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor Tēkva Pēshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânbos. Ârialdf.	
10. Kúérsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Pârzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivén.

776 Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bētikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ēn, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

771 In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun
● 788 (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the
778 *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be
982 well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Ibid. Tarsät. *Pl.* VIII.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539
At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.
At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793
He lights the lamp.
At eight he milks his buffaloes.
He puts on no cloth.
He places butter and ghi before the god.
Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.
Then he puts on his cloth.
At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.
He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.
He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.
He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.
He alone may sleep in the temple.
At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.
At seven he milks them.
The woman's house is down the hill.
The priest must not go in unto the woman.
He may not marry.
When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.
Another is made priest in his stead.

771 114

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, ETC. 771 177 788

771 etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
177 "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun
to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours.
Occasionally children's foreheads are marked
with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven,
after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven
head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
302 A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging
down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He
had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though
married five years, had borne no child. A child had,
however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second
funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[782] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[788] temple. The following extracts from my notes will
serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some
instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as
carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony
at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and
outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over
outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles
and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above.
Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[765] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very
short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and
sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to
forehead.

It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their ap- 776
proach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds 778
going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at [821]
night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night- [354]
assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects con- 778
nected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordi- 552
nary names. These are the kïsm (the word is best translated as "sacred
name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kïsm, 788]
as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the tarθaroḍ moiety,
but not among the töfiljoḍ), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the [614]
funeral-munds, ti-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more im-
portant mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nil-
giris have similar pairs of kïsm, while all the other less important locali- [103]
ties, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kïsm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kïsm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kïsm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and 778
kïsm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are 551
named. In many cases a name is used without change. ëmpoy of the 614
melgaroḍ (48, Uthadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. pəṇg (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. məskus of the kuṣoḍ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the ti-places of this sib. təsjaṭ of the kuṣoḍ (15, Tarsiolv) has the name of the kurpoḍ dairy at the mund kuss. kəndkus of the taroqoḍ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kugfoḍ dairy at the mund taroxy. pəpoh of the melgaroḍ (44, Popoh) has the name of a snake said to live at kwasz, a mund of the sib. kïsnoyəḍurṭ of the kïsroqoḍ (26, Kerudrkutan) has as his name the second kïsm of the people of the sib. ətjars of the pargaroḍ (34, Athars) has the second kïsm of the people of the sib. nəsənəbi(ḍ), son of kəsniḍ (12, Kachsidi) has one of the kïsm of the buffaloes of his sib.

771 233 234 794 the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions [783] [778] of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

794 776 114 [234] Rivers (pp. 447-9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷoḷ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti·. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler........ Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töufuṛ and the töunoṛ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said [533] on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

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[1] This ceremony, the [illegible], is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. [114] [553] [788] The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. [illegible], and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying [illegible] at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as [illegible], [illegible] is as [illegible].

worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked *for* is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nörunme (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son sirjar; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1930 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a tëu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

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[182]

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief alreay mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is osoṇ (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kïmme (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

433

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is 511
quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of 234
the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is [745]
looked upon as a religious act. The takes place in specially constructed
buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are [343]
known by the generic term of *polkhchil*, and their degree of sanctity [346]
varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the
highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest [778]
tarvali (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and
there are such intermediate ones as *warsali* (for the *warsalir*), *kurpali*
(for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding 234
dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk 745
the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual,
which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called [788]
kwarshm. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking
priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *warsali*, *kurpali*
and *kugvali* have respectively a *warsol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black [242]
cloak of office which they wear, the *turi*. The *palol* at times alone has
to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive
perineal band, the *kavn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold
and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and 616
women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I 104
am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of 114
W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the
manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this
chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of
The Todas writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in
keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of
Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, 616
and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what 554
follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which
is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the